

M. D. Gray & Talbot

SEVERAL

1835

GOOD THINGS

FOR A

1489. r. 71.

S H I L L I N G :

V I Z.

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|--|---|
| I. A King's Speech. | V. An Address to the |
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L O N D O N :

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Pater-noster-Row.





A

K I N G ' S S P E E C H.

My Lords and Gentlemen,



Told you last Meeting, that Winter was the fittest Time for Consultation; and truly I thought so, till my Lord Treasurer assured me that the Spring is the best Season for Sallads and Subsidies. I hope therefore that *April* will not prove such an unnatural Month, as not to afford me some kind Showers to refresh my parch'd

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parched Exchequer, that gapes for want of them. But some of you may think it's dangerous to make me rich: pray fear it not, for I promise you faithfully, whatever you give me, I will always want; and altho' in other things my Word may be thought but slender Security, yet in this you may rely upon me, I shall not break it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I can bear my own Streights with Patience: But my Lord Treasurer does protest to me, that the Revenue, as it stands, will not serve him and me too: One of us must pinch for it, if you do not help us.

I must speak freely to you, I am incumbered; for besides my Mistresses in Service, my Reformado Mistresses lie hard upon me. I have a pretty good Estate, I confess; but (God's Fish!) I have a great Charge upon it. Here is my Lord Treasurer can tell you, that all the Money designed for the Summer's Guard, must be applied to Cradles and swaddling Clouts: What shall we do for Ships then? I only hint it to you, for that's not my Business; I know by Experience I can live without them.



them. I lived ten Years abroad without one Ship, and I never had better Health in my Life. But how will *you* do without them? I leave to yourselves to judge; and therefore mention that only by the bye; I do not insist upon it.

There is another thing I must press more earnestly, which is, that a good Part of my Revenue will fail in two or three Years, except you will be pleased to continue it: And I have this to say for it, Pray why did you give me so much as you have done, except you resolved to give on as fast as I should ask you?

The Nation hates you already for having given so much, and I will hate you now if you do not give me more; so if you do not stick to me, you will not have a Friend left in *E——*.

On the other side, if you will settle me a Revenue as I desire, I shall be enabled to do those things for your Religion and Property which I have had long in my Thoughts, but cannot effect without a little Money to carry me through it: Therefore look to it, and take notice, that if you do not make me rich enough to undo you, it shall lie at your Doors: I wash my Hands of it. My royal Care of your Religion and Property does ap-

pear in two considerable Instances. And first for your Religion; of that my late Declaration is a true Picture of my Mind: he that cannot in that, as in a Glafs, see my Zeal for the Church of E—— does not deserve any farther Satisfaction; for I declare him willful, and not good-natured. But to convince Men farther, that I mean as I say, there are these Arguments.

I tell you so, and you know I never broke my Word. My Lord Treasurer says so, and he never told a Lie. My Lord L—— will undertake for me; and I should be loath, by any Act of mine, to forfeit the Credit he has with you. If you desire more Instances of my Zeal, I have them for you.

For Example, I have converted all my natural Sons from Popery, and I may say without Vanity it was my own Work, and much more peculiar to me than the Getting of them.

It would do your Heart good, to hear how prettily little *George* can read already the Psalter. They are fine Children, God bless them, and, as they say, like me in their Understanding.

I have given a Pension to your Favourite my Lord L—— not so much that

I thought he wanted it, as that I knew you would take it kindly. I have made *C*—— a Duchess; and married her Sister to my Lord *P*——. I have at my Brother's Request sent my Lord *I*——
——*n* to settle the Protestant Religion at *Tangier*. I have made *C*—— Bishop of *D*——; and at the first Word of my *Duchess* of *P*—— prefer'd *Br*—— to be Bishop of *C*——. I do not know for my Part what factious Men would have: Sure I am, that none of my Predecessors ever did any thing like this, to gain the good Will of their Subjects.

So much for Religion. As for your Property, my Behaviour to the Bankers for a Publick Instance; and the Proceedings about Mrs *H*—— and Mrs *S*—— for Private ones, are so very convincing Evidences, that it will be needless to say more.

I must now acquaint you, that by my Lord Treasurer's Advice I have made a considerable Retrenchment upon my Expences of Candle and Kitchen-Stuff: Of which by the Way, upon my Conscience, neither my Lord Treasurer nor my Lord *L*—— are guilty.

I speak my Opinion; but if hereafter you shall find them dabbling in the Business,

finess, I tell you plainly I will leave them to you: For I would have the World to know, I am not a Man to be cheated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I desire you to believe of me as you have found me; and I do solemnly protest and promise, that whatever you give me, shall be specially managed, with the same Conduct, Thrift, Sincerity, and Prudence, that I have ever practised since my Restoration.



INSTRUCTIONS
TO
MEMBERS,

Delivered to the S——r of the House of
C——s in the Reign of King *William III.*

Mr. Speaker,

THE inclosed Memorial you are
Charged with in the Behalf of
many Thousands of the good People of
E——.

There is neither Popish, Jacobite, Se-
ditionous, Court or Country Party concerned
in it ; but Honesty and Truth.

You are commanded by two hundred
Thousand E——— to deliver this to
the House of C———, and to inform
them that it is no Banter, but serious
Truth, and a serious Regard to it is ex-
pected. Nothing but Justice and their Duty
is required ; and it is required by them
who have both Right to require, and Pow-
er to compell, **THE PEOPLE OF**
E ——— **D.**

We

We would have come to the House strong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any Tumults, not desiring to imbroid, but to secure our native Country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find Cause in short time to repent it.

To R——t H——y, Speaker to the
House of C——s and B——s in
P——t Assembled.

A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of —— in behalf of themselves and many Thousands of the good People of England.

Gentlemen,

It were to be wished you were Men of that Temper as to bear with the Truth, tho' it be against you, especially from US, who have some Right to tell it you. But since even Petitions from your Masters (for such are the People that choose you) are so haughtily received, as with committing the Authors to illegal Custody, you must give us leave to give you this fair Notice
of

of your Misbehaviour, without exposing our Names.

If you think fit to rectify your Errors, you will do well, and possibly may hear no more of us; but if not, assure your selves, the Nation will not long hide their Resentment: And, tho' there are no stated Proceedings to bring you to your Duty, yet the great Law of Reason says, and all Nations allow, that whatever Power is above Law, is burthensome and tyrannical, and may be reduced to extrajudicial Methods. You are not above the Peoples Resentments; they that made you Members, may reduce you to the same Rank from whence they chose you, and may give you a Taste of their abused Kindness, in Terms you may not be pleased with.

When the People of *E* — *d*, assembled in Convention, presented the Crown to his present *M* — *y*, they then annexed a Declaration of the Rights of the People, in which was expressed what was illegal and arbitrary in former Reigns, and what was claim'd as of Right to be done by succeeding Kings of *E* — *d*.

In like manner here follows, Gentlemen, *A short Abridgement of the Nation's Grievances, of the illegal and unwarrantable*
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Prac-

Practices, and a Claim of Right, which we make in the Name of our selves, and such of the good People in E——d, as are vastly alarm'd at your Proceedings.

I. To raise Funds for Money, and declare, by Borrowing-Clauses, that whosoever advances Money on those Funds shall be reimbursed out of the next Aids; and if the Funds fall short, then give subsequent Funds, without transferring the Deficiency of the former, is an horrible Cheat on the Subject who lent the Money, a Breach of the Publick Faith, and destructive to the Honour and Credit of P——
——ts.

II. To imprison Men who are not your own Members, by no Proceeding but a Vote of your House, and to continue them in Custody *sine die*, is illegal, a notorious Breach of the Liberty of the People, setting up a dispensing Power in the House of C——s, which your Fathers never pretended to, bidding Defiance to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which is the Bulwark of personal Liberty; destructive of the Laws, and betraying the Trust reposed in you. The K--g at the same time being obliged to ask you Leave to continue in Custody the horrid Assassins of his Person.

III. The

III. The committing to Custody those Gentlemen, who, at the Command of the People (whose Servants you are) and in a peaceable Way, put you in mind of your Duty, is illegal and injurious, destructive of the Subject's Liberty of petitioning for Redress of Grievances, which has by all Parliaments before you been acknowledged to be their undoubted Right.

IV. Voting a Petition of the Gentlemen of *Kent* insolent, is ridiculous and impertinent; because the Freeholders of *E---d* are your Superiors; and is a Contradiction in itself, and a Contempt of the *E---b* Freedom, and contrary to the Nature of *P-----y* Power.

V. Voting People guilty of Bribery, and committing them, as aforesaid, without Bail, and then, upon Submission and kneeling to your House, discharging them, exacting exorbitant Fees by your Officers, is illegal, betraying the Justice of the Nation, selling the Liberty of the Subjects, encouraging Extortion and Villainy of Officers and Goalers, and hindering the legal Prosecution of Offenders in the ordinary Course of Law.

VI. Prosecuting the Crime of Bribery in some to serve a Party, and then proceed no farther, tho' Proof lay before you, is

partial, and a Scandal upon the Honour of P-----ts.

VII. Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to *Europe*, because it gave so much of the *Spanish* Dominions to the *French*, and not concern yourselves to prevent their taking Possession of all; deserting the *Dutch* when the *French* are at their Doors, till it be almost too late to help them, is unjust to our Treaties, and unkind to our Confederates, dishonourable to the *E-----b* Nation, and shews you very negligent of the Safety of *E — d*, and of our Protestant Neighbours.

VIII. Ordering immediate Hearings to trifling Petitions to please Parties in Elections, and postponing the Petition of a Widow for the Blood of her murder'd Daughter, without giving it a Reading, is an illegal Delay of Justice, is dishonourable to the Publick and to the Nation.

IX. Addressing the K--g to displace his Friends upon bare Surmises, before a legal Trial or Article proved, is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making Execution go before Judgment; is contrary to the true Sense of the Law, which esteems every Man a good Man till something appears to the contrary.

X. Delay-

X. Delaying Proceedings upon Capital Impeachments, to blast the Reputation of the Persons, without proving the Fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive to the Liberty of E——n, a Delay of Justice, and a Reproach to P——ts.

XI. Suffering saucy and indecent Reproaches upon his M——'s Person to be publickly made in your House, particularly by that impudent Scandal of Parliament J—— H——, without shewing such Resentment as you ought to do: The said J—— H—— saying openly, *That his M——y had made a felonious Treaty to rob his Neighbours*, insinuating, That the Treaty of Partition (which was every way as just as blowing up one Man's House to save another) was a Combination of the K—g's to rob the King of *Spain* of his Due. This is making a *Billingsgate* of the House, and setting up to bully the S——n, contrary to the Intent and Meaning of the Freedom of Speech, which you claim as a Right; is scandalous to P——ts, undutiful and unmannerly, and a Reproach to the whole Nation.

XII. Your S——r exacting the exorbitant Rate of 10 *l. per Diem* for your Votes, and giving the Printer Encouragement to raise it on the People, by selling them at

4 *d. per* Sheet, is an illegal and arbitrary Exaction.

XIII. Neglecting still to pay the Nation's Debts, compounding for Interest, and postponing Petitions, is illegal, dishonourable to the House, and burthensome to the People.

XIV. Publickly neglecting the great Work of Reformation of Manners, tho' often pressed to it by the K---g, to the great Dishonour of God and Encouragement of Vice, is a Neglect of your Duty, and an Abuse of the Trust reposed in you by God, his M----y, and the People.

XV. Being scandalously vicious yourselves, both in your Morals and Religion, lewd in Life, and erroneous in Doctrine; having among you publick Blasphemers and impudent Denyers of the Divinity of our Saviour, and suffering them unreprieved, and unpunish'd, to the infinite Regret of all good Christians, and just Abhorrence of the whole Nation.

Wherefore in the sad Prospect of the impending Ruin of our native Country, while P-----ts (which ought to be the Security and Defence of our Laws and Constitution) betray their Trust and abuse the People, whom they should protect;
and

and no other Way being left us but that Force, which we are loath to make use of; That Posterity may know we did not insensibly fall under the Tyranny of a prevailing Party, We do hereby

CLAIM AND DECLARE,

I. That it is the undoubted Right of the People of *E——d*, in case their Representatives in *P———t* do not proceed according to their Duty and the People's Interest, to inform them of their Dislike, disown their Actions, and direct them to such Things as they think fit, either by Petition, Address and Proposal, Memorial, or any other peaceable Way.

II. That the House of *C———s*, separately and otherwise than by Bill legally past into an Act, have no legal Power to suspend or dispense with the Laws of the Land, any more than the *K---* has by his Prerogative.

III. That the House of *C———s* have no legal Power to imprison any Person, or commit them to Custody of Serjeants or otherwise (their own Members excepted) but ought to address to the *K---* to cause any Person on good Grounds to be apprehended; which Persons, so apprehended, ought to have the Liberty (I mean the Benefit)

ness) of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be fairly brought to Trial by due Course of Law.

IV. That if the House of C——s, in Breach of the Laws and Liberties of the People, betray the Trust reposed in them, and act negligently, arbitrarily and illegally, it is the undoubted Right of the People of E——d to call them to an Account, as Betrayers of their Trust.

These Things we think proper to declare, as the unquestion'd Rights of the People of E——d, whom you serve, and in pursuance of these Rights, avoiding the Ceremony of petitioning our Inferiors, (for such you are by your present Circumstances, as the Person sent is less than the Sender) we do publicly protest against all the aforesaid illegal Actions, and in the Name of ourselves and of all the good People of E——d do

REQUIRE AND DEMAND,

I. That all the Publick Just Debts of the N-----n be forthwith paid and discharged.

II. That all Persons illegally imprison'd, as aforesaid, be either immediately discharged, or admitted to Bail, as by Law they ought to be, and the Liberty of the Subject recognised and restored.

III. That

III. That *J— H—* aforeſaid be obliged to aſk the King's Pardon for his vile Reflections, or be immediately expell'd the Houſe.

IV. That the growing Power of *France* be taken into Conſideration, the Succeſſion of the Emperor to the Crown of *Spain* ſupported, our Proteſtant Neighbours protected, as the true Inter-eſt of *E—d* and the Proteſtant Religion require.

V. That the *French* King be obliged to quit *Flanders*, or that his *M—y* be addreſſ'd to declare War againſt him.

VI. That ſuitable Supplies be granted to his *M—y*, for the putting all thoſe neceſſary Things in Execution; and that Care be taken that ſuch Taxes as are raiſed may be more equally aſſeſſed and collected, and ſcandalous Deficiencies prevented.

VII. That the Thanks of the Houſe be given to thoſe Gentlemen who ſo gallantly appear'd in the Behalf of their Country with the *Kentiſh* Petition, and have been ſo ſcandalouſly uſed for it.

THUS, Gentlemen, you have your Duty laid before you, which it is hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Reſentments of an injured

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jured Nation; for E———n are no more to be Slaves to the P——— than to the K—.

*Our Name is LEGION,
and we are many.*

P. S. If you require to have this Memorial signed with our Names, it shall be done on your first Orders, and PERSONALLY PRESENTED.



THE

Coll. B----'s SPEECH

ON THE

Honour of a KING.

MAY, 1675.

WHEN the House of Commons had in Debate the making a second Address to the King for the Recall of his Subjects in the Service of the *French* King: it was by Secretary C--- urged as an Argument against it, that he had already granted their Desires in the chiefest Part of it, since by this Proclamation he did as much as in him lay to hinder the going over of any more; and did thereby require all those to come back, that went since the Treaty of Peace with *Holland*. But for such as went by Contract and Establishment before that Treaty, those in Honour the King could not recall: Nay, the States of *Holland* could not expect, nor had they ever desired those should be sent for back.

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Some others enlarged upon the Case of Honour, how much the King was bound up by it, not to yield to any such general Address.

Upon which Col. B — stood up, and made an excellent Discourse of the true Interest of *England* with Reference to *France*, and coming to answer the Argument made from the King's Honour, he proceeded thus.

Mr. Speaker,

I perceive some Gentlemen are terribly frightened with this Word Honour; they are afraid of the King's Honour, and therefore afraid to make this Address. I shall tell you by and by what this Honour is; but first I will admit the King's Honour really engaged: 'And what if it be?' will not your Advice be a perfect *Salvo* to his Honour? Certainly it is the only thing in the World can bring him off: and for my Part, I believe the King will be very glad to serve himself of such an Expedient. He has done it heretofore: Pray remember the Declaration. When we were all put under Declaration-law, did not the King then tell you in his Speech, he was resolved to stand to it, and that he should take it very ill to receive Contradiction therein?

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Why pray? was not his Honour engaged? I am sure it was in Print: Yet you know upon that Advice, how the King quitted that Declaration, and concealed it. When you came afterwards to advise the King in reference to a Peace with the States of the United Provinces, you then found him in a *French Alliance*; and how much we were then also told of his Honour's being engaged, I am sure I cannot forget. But notwithstanding that Honour, the King took your Counsel, and made Peace: And, I believe, you may now have a third Instance of the Signification of his Honour, if you shall advise the King (as you have been moved) to recall all his Subjects in the Service of the *French King*.

But lest we should be troubled again with this Honour, I shall tell you (as I promised) what it is.

It is nothing but the Phrase and Word of those that counsel'd the King to this *French Alliance*; and whatever his Majesty is pleased to say to you at any time, must be deemed the Words of the Counsellors. For if you judge otherwise, whenever they have a mind to stop your Mouths, they'll tell you of the King's Honour, or some other big Words, and your Business, Gentlemen, is at an End; and you may go home again.

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A

Discourse of REBELLION,

Given up and Down, 1676.

NOW having gone thus far in the Description of Rebellion, I think myself obliged to tell you what I conceive not to be Rebellion. Whosoever then takes up Arms to maintain the politic Constitution, or Government of his Country, in the Condition it then is (I mean to defend it from being changed, or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man, altho' it be the Prince or chief Magistrate himself) such taking up of Arms, being commanded or authorized by those, who by the Order of that Government are legally intrusted with the Custody of the Liberty of the People, and Foundation of Government: This I hold to be so far from Rebellion, that I believe it laudable, nay the Duty of every Member of such a Commonwealth; for whosoever fights to support and defend the Government he was born and lives under, cannot

cannot deserve the odious Name of Rebel ; but he who endeavours to destroy it.

If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mix'd Monarchies in the World : yet such is at this Day the happy State, and Form under which all *Europe* lives ; as the People of *England*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Swedeland*, &c. that the Prince has his Share, and the People theirs. Which last, if they had no lawful means of recovering their Rights if taken from them, or defending them if invaded, would be in the same State as if they had no Title to them, but lived under the Tyranny of *France*, *Turkey*, or *Muscovy*,

And since they have no other Remedy but by Arms, and that it would be of ill Consequence to make every private Man judge when the Rights of the People (to which they have as lawful a Claim as the Prince to his) are invaded, which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless Tumults ; therefore it has been the great Wisdom of the Founders of such Monarchies, to appoint Guardians to the Peoples Liberties : Which, if it be not otherwise exprest, is and ought to be understood to reside in the Estates of the Country ; which for that Reason, as
as

also to exercise their Share in the Sovereignty (as making Laws, levying Money, &c.) are to be frequently assembled in all those Regions of *Europe* before mentioned.

These are to attest and maintain the Orders of Government, and the Laws established (and if it cannot be done otherwise) to arm the People to defend themselves, and repel any Force that is upon them.

Nay, the Government of *Arragon* goes farther. And because in the Intervals of Estates, or Courts, many Accidents may intervene to the Prejudice of their Jurors, and Rights (as they call them) they have during the Intermiſſion appointed a Magistrate called *El Juſtitia*, who is by the Law and Constitution of that Kingdom, to assemble the whole People to his Banner, whenever their Rights are incroached upon; and they are not only justified by the Laws for coming thither, but severely punished in Case of Refusal.

So that there is no Question but if the Kings of *Arragon*, (at this Day very powerful by the Addition of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the Union with *Castile*) should invade this Kingdom of *Arragon*, and endeavour to take from them the Rights and Privileges they
 I enjoy

enjoy lawfully by their Constitution, there is no Question I say, but they may (tho' their King be there in Person against them) assemble under their *Justitia*, and defend their Liberties with the same legal Justice, as if they were invaded by the *French*, or by the *Turk*.

For it were absurd to think, that the People should be assembled by Course of Law to apprehend Robbers, or to deliver a Possession of their Liberties and Properties, and defend their Lives too from being arbitrarily taken away.

But I know this clear Truth receives Opposition in this unreasonable and corrupt Age, when Men are more prone to flatter the Lust of Princes than formerly, and the Favourites more impatient to bear the Impartiality of the Laws, than the Sons of *Brutus* were, who complained *Leges esse surdas*: That is, tho' they were fine Gentlemen in Favour with the Ladies, and Ministers to the King's Pleasures; yet they could not oppress, drink, whore, nor kill the Officers of Justice in the Streets, (returning from their Night Revels) but the Execution of the Laws would reach them as well as others, who in the time of *Tarquin* found, it seems, the Prince more exorable. Nay, the very Divines
D themselves

themselves help with their Fallacies to oppugn this Doctrine ; to make us believe (as I said before) that it is God's Will all Princes should be absolute : And they are so far in a Conspiracy against Mankind, that they assert, that in the Text (*This shall the Manner of the Kingdom be*) God has given his People the *Jus Divinum* of Government, when indeed he was threatening them with the Plagues of Monarchy.

For when the People of *Israel* asked of *Samuel* a King to judge them, though provoked to it by the wicked Governments of *Samuel's* Sons, which he had set over them : yet the Answer of God to *Samuel* shews they had a King, but in Wrath, and Vengeance to punish them.

And as soon as God had said, that by their asking of a King, they had rejected his Omnipotency from reigning over them, he bids *Samuel* to hearken not unto their Voice, but to protest against it, and shew them the Manner of their King.

That he would take their Sons and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some to run before his Chariots.

That he would take their Daughters to be Confectionaries, and to be Cooks, and to be Bakers, with many other Vassallages,

fallages, describing the tyrannical Power under which the People should labour by this Change of Government.

Their very Petition was a departing from God, and it carried its Punishment along with it.

But to come to the Rationality of Government, with some Regard to the Text, is it not most likely that God would have established the best Sort of Government among his own People? He gave them the Land of *Canaan* as the best Piece of Earth; he gave them the best Laws; and if a King had been the best Form of Government, is it not probable God had given it them also? But the Idolatry of all the Nations then governed by Kings, and the Idolatry of the *Israelites* soon after they had Kings, were an interposing Idol between the People and God, subjecting them to Idolatry: And since the only asking a King was a Departing from God, it necessarily shews that Kind of Government less consistent with the Presence of God.

A N
HUMBLE ADDRESS
O F T H E
LADIES of Pleasure, &c.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Ladies of Pleasure in the several Seraglio's of *Moorfields*, *Whetston's-Park*, *Lukener's-Lane*, *Dog and Bitch-Yard*, and the rest of the Stews and Cunny-Burroughs in and about your Majesty's virtuous Palace of *Whitehall*, and the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, being daily sensible of the great Advantages we have reap'd under your Majesty's easy Government, from the Play-Houses, Masks, Balls, Serenades, *Hyde-Park* and *St. James's* Night-Revels, publickly commended and honoured by your Majesty's Royal Presence; and from the great License and Privileges we have enjoy'd under your Majesty's Justices of Peace (no way inferior to those of *Rome* and *Venice*) whereby those foolish things

things call'd Wives are grown unfashionable, and keeping a Miss a principal Character of a well-bred modish Gentleman: And having no less Resentment of the Honour some of our Profession have receiv'd from your Majesty, in being promoted not only to great Titles, but to the peculiar Direction of Publick Affairs; and of the Benefit all of us have received from the Dissolution of several late Parliaments; which being composed, for the greatest part, of sober Country Clowns, who brought up their Wives with them, lived honestly, and threatened to make Laws for retrieving the Ancient Virtue of the Nation, which would have starved us.

We do most humbly beg leave to return our most sincere and hearty Thanks to your Majesty for all the said Blessings; as also for your most gracious Promise of having frequent Parliaments, from which we hope the said Clowns will at length be so tired by the Expence of future Elections, and the Shame of being so often sent home, that they will give place to such worthy Patriots, as made up the Long Parliament, from whose excellent Morals and plentiful Pensions, we, as well as your Majesty, received a very comfortable Support. And we humbly assure ourselves of your Majesty's Acceptance
of

of this our Zeal (which we will never be wanting to exprefs, fo long as we are able to wag our Tails) from the Hands of our Chiefs the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* and Madam *Gwin*, whom we have prevailed with to preſent the ſame, as well for the Acceptableneſs of their Perſons to your Maſteſty, as for the avoiding the Errors the Addreſſing Lawyers ran into, by preſenting it with unwarrantable Numbers.



REASONS

*REASONS against repealing the
Acts of Parliament concerning
the TEST, humbly offer'd to the
Consideration of the Members of
both Houses on their next Meet-
ing, the 28th of April, 1687.*

By Doctor B——T.

I. **I**F the just Apprehensions of the Danger of Popery gave Birth to the two Laws for the two Tests, the one in relation to all publick Employments (in 73) and the other in relation to the Constitution of our Parliament for the future in 78; the present Time and Conjuncture does not seem so proper for repealing them, unless it can be imagin'd that the Danger of Popery is now so much less than it was formerly, that we need no more stand upon our Guard against it. We had a King when these Laws were enacted, who, as he declar'd himself of the Church of *England*, by receiving the Sacrament four Times a Year in it, so in all his Speeches to the Parliament, and in

all his Declarations to his Subjects, he repeated this Assurance of his Firmness to the Protestant Religion so frequently and solemnly, that if saying of a Thing often gives Reasons to believe it, we had as much Reason as any People had to depend upon him; and yet for all that, it was thought necessary to fortify these Assurances with Laws; and it is not easy to imagine why we should throw away these, when we have a Prince that is not only of another Religion himself, but that has expressed so much Steadiness in it, and so much Zeal for it, that one would think that we should rather now seek a farther Security, than throw away that which already we have.

II. Our King has given such Testimonies of his Zeal for his Religion, that we see among all his other Royal Qualities, there is none for which he desires and deserves to be so much admir'd: Since the Passion of Glory of making himself the Terror of all *Europe*, and the Arbitrator of Christendom, (which as it is natural to all Princes, must be particularly so to one of his martial and noble Temper) yields to his Zeal for the Church. If he in whom we might hope to see our *Edward* the Third, or *Henry* the Fifth reviv'd, chuses rather the heightening

ening his Degree of Glory in another World, than to acquire all the Laurels and Conquests that this low World could give him; and that instead of making himself a Terror to all his Neighbours, he is contented with the humble Glory of being a Terror to his own People; so that instead of the great Figure which this Reign might make in the World, all the News of *England* is only concerning the Practices on some fearful Mercenaries. These Things show, that his Majesty is so possess'd with his Religion, that this cannot suffer us to think that there is at present no Danger from Popery.

III. It does not appear, from what we see either abroad or at home, that Popery has so changed its Nature, that we have less Reason to be afraid of it at present than we had in former Times. It might be thought ill-natur'd to go so far back as to the Council of *Lateran*, that decreed the Extirpation of Heretics, with severe Threatenings on those Princes that fail'd in their Duty of being the Hangmen of the Inquisitors; or to the Council of *Constance*, that decreed that Princes were not bound to keep Faith with Hereticks; tho' it must be confessed, that we must have extraordinary Memories if we can forget such Things, and much more extraordinary Understandings if we

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do not make some Inferences from them. I will not stand upon such inconsiderable Trifles as the Gunpowder Plot, or the Massacre of *Ireland*; but I will take the Liberty to reflect on what the Papists have done since these Laws were made, to give us kinder and softer Thoughts of them, and to make us the less apprehensive of them. We see before our Eyes what they have done, and are still doing in *France*, and what feeble Things Edicts, Coronation-Oaths, Laws and Promises repeated over and over again prove to be, where that Religion prevails. And *Lewis le Grand* makes not so contemptible a Figure in the Church, or in our Court, as to make us think that his Example may not be propos'd as a Pattern, as well as his Aid offer'd for an Encouragement to act the same Things in *E——d*, that he is now doing with so much Applause in *France*; and it may be perhaps the rather desir'd from hence to put him a little in Countenance, when so great a K---- as ours is willing to forget himself so far as to copy after him, and to depend upon him. So that as the Doctrines of their Church are the same in all Ages and Places, since its chief Pretence is, that 'tis infallible; it is no unreasonable Thing for us to be afraid of those who will be easily induced

duced to burn us a little Here, when they are told, that such fervent Zeal will save them a more lasting burning Hereafter, and will perhaps quit all Scores so intirely that they may hope scarce to indure a Sindging in Purgatory for all their other Sins.

IV. If the Rev^d. Order (of the Church of *Rome*) that has breathed out nothing but Fire and Blood since its first Formation, and is even decry'd at *Rome* itself for its Violence, is in such Credit here, I do not see any Inducement from thence to persuade us to act on the Counsels that are directed by that Society, as so harmless and inoffensive, that we need be less on our Guard against them. I know not why we may not fear as much from Father *Petre* as the *French* have done from *Pere de la Chaise*; since all the Difference that is observed to be between them is, that the *English* Jesuits have much more Fire and Passion, and much less Conduct and Judgment than the *French* have; and when *Rome* itself has expressed so much Jealousy of the Interest those of that Order had in our Counsels, that Father *Morgan*, who was thought to influence our Ambassadors, was order'd to leave *Rome*, I do not see why *E——d* should look so tamely on them. No Reason can be given why Cardinal *H——d* should be shut out

of all their Counfels, unless it be that the Nobleness of his Birth, and Gentleness of his Temper, are too hard even for his Religion and his Purple to be master'd by them. And it is a Contradiction that nothing but a Belief capable of receiving Transubstantiation can reconcile, to see Men pretend to observe Law, and yet to find at the same Time an Ambassador from *E——d* at *Rome*, when there are so many Laws in our Books of Statutes, never yet repeal'd, that have declar'd over and over all Commerce with the See of *Rome* to be High Treason.

V. The late famous Judgment of our Judges, who, knowing no other Way to make their Names immortal, have found an effectual one to preserve them from their being forgot, seems to call for another Way or Method of Proceeding : The Precedent they have set must be fatal either to them or us ; for if twelve Men, that get into Scarlet and Furs, have an Authority to dissolve all our Laws made so long, the *E——b* Government is to be look'd upon with as much Scorn, as it has heretofore drawn Admiration. That doubtful Words of Laws made so long ago, when the Intention of the Lawgivers is not certainly known, must be expounded by the Judges, is not to be question'd ;

question'd; but to infer from thence, that the plain Words of the Law so lately made, that was so rigorously asserted by this present P———, may be made void by a Decision of theirs, after so many Practices upon them, is as just and reasonable a Way of Argument as theirs is, who, because the Church of *England* acknowledges that the Church has a Power in Matters of Rites and Ceremonies, will from thence conclude, That that Power must go so far, that tho' *Christ* has said of the Cup, *drink ye all of it*, we must obey the Church when she saith, We shall not drink of it. Our Judges, for the greatest part, were Men that had past their Lives in so much Retirement, that from thence we might have hoped they had studied our Laws well, since the Bar had call'd them so seldom from their Studies; and if Practice is thought often hurtful to Speculation, as that which often disorders and hurts the Judgment, they who had practised so little in our Laws, should have had no Biass on their Understandings. And if the Habit of taking Money as a Lawyer is a dangerous Preparation for one that is to be an incorrupt Judge, they should have been incorruptible; since it is not thought that the greatest part of them never got so much by
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their Practice as paid for their Furs. In short, we now see how they have merited their Blank Preferment; and they may yet expect a farther Exaltation, when the Justice and the Laws of *E———d* come into Hands that will be as careful to preserve them as they have been to destroy them. But what an Infamy will it lay upon the Name of an *E———b P———*, if instead of calling those Betrayers of their Country to an Account, they should go, by an After-Game, to confirm what these Fellows had done.

VI. The late Conferences with so many *M———rs* of both *H——s* will give such an ill-natur'd Piece of Jealousy against them, that of all Persons living they are the most concern'd to take care how they give their Votes. The World will believe that Threatenings and Promises had as large a Share in their secret Conversations, as Reasonings and Persuasions; and it must be more than an ordinary Degree of Zeal and Courage in them, that must take off the Blot of being sent for, and spoke to on such a Subject, and in such a Manner. The worthy Behaviour of the *M———rs* of the last *S———n*, had made this Nation unwilling to remember the Errors committed in the first Election; and it is to be hoped,

hoped, that they will not give any Cause for the future to call that to Mind; for if a P———, that had so many Flaws in the first Conception, goes to repeal Laws that we are sure were made by legal P———s, it will put the Nation to an Enquiry, that nothing but Necessity will drive them to: For a Nation may be laid asleep, and a little cheated; but when it's awake, and sees its Danger, it will not look on and see a Rape made on its Religion and Liberties, without examining from whence these Men have their Authority; they will hardly find it is of Men, and will not believe it is of God. But it is to be hoped there will be no Cause given for this angry Question, which is much easier made than answer'd.

VII. If all that were ask'd now in favour of Popery, were only some Gentleness towards Papists, there were some Reason to entertain the Debate when the Demand were a little more modest. If Men were to be attainted of Treason for being reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and if two Thirds of the Papists Estates were offer'd to be levied, it were a natural Thing to see them uneasy and restless; but now the Matter is more bare-faced, they are not content to live at ease and enjoy their Estates, but must carry all before them; and Father
Petre

Petre cannot be at quiet till he makes as great a Figure in our Court, as *Pere de la Chaise* does at *Versailles*.

A Cessation of all Severities against them is that to which the Nation would more easily submit ; but it is their Behaviour that must create them the Continuance of a like Compassion in another Reign. If a restless and persecuting Spirit were not inherent in that Order which has now the Ascendant, they would behave themselves so decently under their present Advantages, as to make our Divines, who have charged them too heavily, look a little out of Countenance, and this would work more on the Good Nature of the Nation, and the princely Nobleness of the Successor whom we have in view, than those Acts of Craft and Violence, to which we see their Temper carry them, even so early, before it is yet Time to shew themselves. The Temper of the *English* Nation, the heroical Virtues of those we have in our Eyes ; but above all, our most holy Religion, which, instead of Revenge and Cruelty, inspires us with Charity and Mercy even for our Enemies ; are such Things as may take from the Gentlemen of that Religion all sad Apprehensions, unless they raise a Storm against themselves, and provoke the Justice
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of the Nation, to such a Degree, that their Successors may find it necessary to be just, even when their own Inclinations would rather carry them to show Mercy. In short they need fear nothing but what they create themselves; so that all this Stir they keep for their own Safety, looks too like securing to themselves a Pardon for their Crimes.

VIII. I know it is objected as no small Prejudice against these Laws, that the very making of them discovered a particular Malignity against his Majesty, and therefore it is ill Manners to speak for them. The first perhaps had an Eye at his being Admiral, and the last was possibly levelled at him; tho' when that was discovered, he was excepted out of it, with a special Proviso; and as for that which passed in 73, I hope it is not forgotten, that it was enacted by that loyal Parliament that had settled the Prerogative of the Crown and the Rights of the Church, and that had given the King more Money than all the Parliaments of *England* had ever done in all former Times; a Parliament that had indeed some Disputes with the King, but upon the first Step that he made with relation to Religion, or Safety, they shew'd how ready they were to forget all that

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was past; as appeared by their Behaviour after the triple Alliance. And in 73, tho' they had great Cause given them to dislike the *Dutch* War, especially the strange Beginning of it upon the *Smyrna* Fleet, and stopping the Exchequer; and tho' the Declaration for Toleration for the Members of the House, were Matters of hard Digestion; yet did the King no sooner give them that new Assurance of their Religion, tho' they had very great Reason given them to be jealous of that War, yet since, the King was engaged, they gave him a Million and 200000 *l.* for carrying it on; and they thought they had no ill Pennyworth for their Money, when they carried home with 'em this new Security for their Religion, which we are now desired to throw up, and which the reverend Judges have already thrown out, as a Law out of Date. If that had carried in it any new Pieces of Severity, their Complaints might be just; but they are extreamly tender, if they are uneasy under a Law, that only gives them Leisure and Opportunity to live at home. And the last Test, which was intended only for shutting them out of the Legislative Body, appears to be so just, that one is more amazed to find that it was so long a doing, than that it was done at

at last; and since it is done, it is a great Presumption on our Understandings, that we should be willing to part with it. If it was not sooner done, it was because there was no such Cause given for Jealousy to work upon; but what has appeared since that Time, and what has been printed in his late Majesty's Name, shows the World now that the Jealousies that occasioned those Laws, were not so ill-grounded as some well-meaning Men then perhaps believed them to be. But there are some Times when some Men's Eyes come to be opened.

IX. I am told, some Men think it very indifferent to have a Test for our Parliament, in which the King's Religion is accused of Idolatry. But if the Reason be good in this Particular, it will be full as good against several of the Articles of our Church, and many of our Homilies. If the Church, and Religion of our Nation is so formed by Law, that the King's Religion is declared over and over again Idolatrous, what Help is there for it? It is no other than what it was when his Majesty was crown'd, and swore to maintain our Laws. I hope none will be wanting in all possible Respect to his sacred Person;

and as we ought to be infinitely sorry to find him in a Religion, which we must believe Idolatrous, so we are far from the ill Manners of reflecting on his Person, or calling him an Idolator. For as every Man that reports a Lye, for that is not to be called a Lyar; so the ordering the Intention, and the Prejudice of a Misper-suasion are such Abatements, that we will not rashly take upon us to call every Man of the Church of *Rome* an Idolator: yet on the other Hand we can never lay down our Charge against the Church of *Rome*, as guilty of Idolatry, unless at the same time we part with---

X. Others give us a strange Sort of Argument, to persuade us to part with the Test: They say, the King must employ his Popish Subjects, for he can trust no other; and he is so assured of their Fidelity to him, that we apprehend no Danger from them. This is an odd Method on us to let in a Sort of People to the Parliament and Government; since the King cannot trust us, but them; so that as soon as that Law is repealed they must have all the Employments, and have the whole Power of the Nation lodged in their Hands. This seems a little too gross to impose even upon *Irishmen*. The King saw
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for many Years together, with how much Zeal both the Clergy and many of the Gentry appeared for his Interest; and if there is now a melancholy Damp upon their Spirits, the King can dissipate it when he will; and as the Church of *England* is a Body that will never rebel against him, so any Sullenness which the late Administration of Affairs has brought on them, will soon vanish, if the King be pleased to remember a little what he has so often promised, not only in Publick but in Private, and will be content with the Exercise of his own Religion, without embroiling his whole Affairs, because Father *Petre* will have it so. And it tempts *Englishmen* to more than ordinary Degrees of Rage, against a certain Sort of Men, who, it seems, can infuse in a Prince, born with the highest Sense of Honour possible, Projects to which, without doing some Violence to his royal Nature, he could not so much as hearken, if his Religion did not muffle him up in a blind Obedience. But if we are so unhappy, that Priests can so disguise Matters, as to mislead a Prince, who without their Influence would be the most glorious Monarch of all *Europe*, and would soon reduce the grand *Louis*

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to a much humbler Figure ; yet it is not to be so much as imagined, that ever their Arts can be so unhappily successful as to impose on an *English* Parliament, composed of Protestant Members.

*Reasons against the Bill for
the T E S T.*

By the Earl of *Sb---*y, 1675.

I. **I**T is a great Step to the overthrowing the Act of Oblivion, and distinguishing Parties. That it is in other Acts, does not justify the Matter ; for those were but Steps to the same End : and I should rather think that after fifteen Years those should be repealed, than that it should now be enjoined to be taken by all the Officers of the Nation, and even by the Members of both Houses.

II. 'Tis against the Nature of an Oath, which ought to be simple and plain ; but this is of a dark, intricate, and perplex'd Meaning ; and therefore is a Snare to the Consciences of good Men.

III. It

III. It is needless; for either it maintains, and means no more than the Oath of Allegiance; or, where it attempts more, or goes to explain, 'tis pernicious and dangerous.

IV. 'Tis directly establishing a standing Army by Act of Parliament; for if whatever be by the King's Commission, be by the King's Authority, then a standing Army is Law; for the King's Authority is nothing but the Law in other Words. Besides, it alters the whole Law of *E*—— in one of the most fundamental Parts of it: for the King's Commission was never thought to protect, or justify any Man in any Proceeding when it was against his Authority, which is the Law.

V. 'Tis against the Property of the Subject; of which I give this Instance. If any Man, in a Suit with one in great Favour at Court (as may happen hereafter) shall recover House, or Lands, and shall by Order of Law be put into Possession by the Sheriff; and afterwards a Warrant is obtained by the Interest of the Favourite, to command some Soldiers of the standing Army to take the Possession, and deliver it back: I conceive that by the Law, the Man in Possession may justify

tify the defending himself by Arms, and killing those who shall violently endeavour to enter his House. And yet in this Case, the Party whose House is invaded takes up Arms by the King's Authority, against those who are commissioned by him.

For another Instance, put the Case that any King hereafter shall, contrary to the Petition of Right, demand Loan-Money by Privy-Seal, or otherwise, of private Persons; and shall send Soldiers to break up the Houses of those that refuse to pay, and shall distrain their Money, Goods, or Plate: it is lawful in such a Case, as the Law now stands, for these Men to defend their Houses against such Invasion; and yet it is of the same Nature with the former, and against the Words of this Oath.

This may seem a rude Instance towards the Crown, but it cannot be explained without speaking thus plain: And it cannot be deny'd me, but that however happy we are now, Kings being but Men, these Suppositions are not extravagant.

VI. 'Tis against the Safety of the Crown, which I shall explain by two Instances.

The one is known to you all, and may very well be supposed to be hereafter: I mean, that famous Instance of
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Henry VI. who being a soft and weak Prince, when taken Prisoner (by his Cousin *Edward IV.* that pretended to the Crown) was carried up and down in the Army, gave what Orders and Commissions they pleased: whilst all those that were loyal to him, as one Man, adhered to his Wife and Son, and fought a pitch'd Battle against him and retook him. And yet to this Day no Man has ever blamed them, or thought, but if they had done otherwise, they had betray'd their Prince, and been disloyal to him.

The other Instance: Put case a future King of *E*—— should be of the same Temper with *Henry VI.* and should be taken Prisoner by any Accident, by *Spaniards, Dutch, or French*, which then being an over-grown Power, should both with the Person and Commission of the King invade *England*: Were it not suitable with our Loyalties, to join with the Son of that Prince, for the Defence of his Father's Crown and Dignity, even against the Person and Commission of the King?

And here you must take my Instance as I put it: A King, as *Henry VI.* who was acting purely out of Fear and Weakness; so that every Man's Conscience bore him

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witness, that in fighting against him, he did what was most loyal to his Prince, and safest for his Person and Interest.

In both these Cases, as I cannot justify 'em by the strict Letter of the Law, they stand in need of the King's Pardon, so I do not think it safe either for the Person of the King, or his Crown and Dignity, that it should be expressly sworn against.

And if you will forswear all Distinctions which ill Men have made ill Use of, either in Rebellion or Heresy, you must extend the Oath to Divinity and Politicks.

Thus much for the Oath in general, and the first part of it; but for the latter part of it, 'tis much more extravagant. For,

I. 'Tis against the King's Crown and Dignity that his Subjects should be sworn to the Government of the Church equally as to himself. The Kings of *England* have always been sworn to maintain the Church, and their People have sworn Allegiance to them. But I cannot think it safe for the King to permit by Act of Parliament, much less to enjoin his great Officers, and both Houses of Parliament, to swear to the Church as to himself. And 'twere a Question fit to be ask'd, What is the Government of the Church we are to swear to?

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Whether it derives no Power, nor Authority, nor Priesthood, nor Functions but from the King, as Head of the Church? For if it derive a Power separate and independent from the King, it's not safe for the King to permit his Subjects to be sworn to them.

If any shall say that the Priesthood, and Power thereof, and the Authority belonging thereto, are derived immediately from *Christ*; but the License of exercising that Authority and Power in the King's Dominions, and over his Subjects, is derived from the Civil Authority : I beseech your Lordships, consider how dangerous a Thing it is, That by Act of Parliament, and your Oaths, they should be secur'd in the Exercise of an Authority in the King's Country, and over his Subjects, which, being received from *Christ*, cannot be alter'd.

How must we again be Priest-ridden, when the Church shall by Act of Parliament and your Oaths be thus separate, and set above the Civil Power! This does indeed set the Mitre above the Crown.

II. It's against the very Nature, Being, and Ends of Parliaments, and so subverts the Foundation of our Government. For what's the Business of Parliaments, but to make Alterations, either by adding or taking

away some Part of the Government in Church or State?

If it be answer'd me, That 'tis allow'd to alter Parts, but not the Whole, or to make Alterations about the Exercise of Power, and not to take away the Power itself, either in part or in whole; pardon me, I say this is Nonsense: For if I may alter *Part*, I desire to know, and to be told, how much, or *where* I must stop? And for the Distinction of Power, and the Manner of exercising it, there can be no such Distinction here; for Power and the Manner of Exercise are so interwoven, that whosoever can prevail in the Manner, can absolutely enervate the Power.

III. 'Tis against the King's Supremacy, and the greatest Attempt that has been made against it since the Reformation. For I beg (before we are made to take this Oath) that we may understand, whether the K---- in P----- may not alter, demolish, or take away any Bishoprick, and whether after this Oath in P----- I may safely consent to it? Whether the King may take any part of a Diocese, or whole Diocese, and put them under Deans, or any other Persons? Because if it be not lawful for the King and Parliament to do it, I
scruple

scruple the maintaining of the Government as it is.

The Dean of *H——d*, and the Dean of *S——y*, have very large Tracts of Land under their Jurisdictions, as fully as any Bishops have their Dioceses under them. And several Parsons of Parishes have Episcopal Jurisdiction: Nay, I fear some Laymen too have it; and yet I hope are in a State of Salvation: If not, I should be loath to swear to such a Government of the Church, that is so imperfectly settled.

My Lords, I would not be mistaken in this Discourse; for I think Episcopacy the best Government for the Church, and most suitable to *England*. But I must say with the great Lord of *S-----n* (upon Occasion of this Oath in the Parliament at *Oxford*) *I will not be sworn never to alter the Church Government as now constituted, tho' as yet I am persuaded I am the farthest imaginable from consenting to it: There is nothing that is made so necessary to our Religion by Divine Precept, but such Circumstances may come in Human Affairs as may render the contrary eligible by the best of Men.*

And if our Church-Government be looked upon to be so divine as not to be altered, and therefore fit for us all to swear Allegiance to it; I am sure that Opinion does

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not only extreemly invade the King's Supremacy, but differs from the Opinion of the Parliament, both in *Edward* the Sixth's and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. And it must follow, that there is no Salvation but where there is Episcopacy, which if the Church themselves did believe, they would not suffer so many Parts (as I have before mention'd to your Lordship) to rest in so ill a State in *England*: Nay, the Church of *Rome* itself, that is the great Mother of that Opinion, gives herself the Lie when she has such vast Tracts of Ground, and such great Numbers of Men exempt from Episcopal Jurisdiction.

But, my Lords, I had almost forgot one Thing, which is, how scandalous this Oath will appear to all foreign Protestants; when this Point, of being sworn to the Government of the Church, does not secure our Doctrine at all. For Episcopacy would remain, tho' the Popish Religion were introduced; and the King's Supremacy is jolted aside by this Oath, to make way for an Ecclesiastical Supremacy.

F I N I S.



